

unemployed. Crowds of jobless workers milled about in front of the employment offices. Most of them had long since exhausted their benefit rights. Many spent nights on benches in public squares and subway tunnels. But the Communist commandos and Nazi shock troops offered jobs to husky young men. Those who enrolled received shelter, food, a smart uniform, sufficient pocket money, and hope for the future.

Through all these events we continued our campaign. The idea of public works began to attract more attention in the press—except, alas, in the S-D press. Many economists were ready to recognize that public works would be the proper vehicle to bring more money into circulation. It was time to broaden the ADGB plan, and I asked Fritz Baade, member of the Reichstag, and Fritz Tarnow, president of the Lumber Workers' Union, to work out a practical plan with me. Baade was one of the ablest economists in the S-D party, a man with a strong will, a keen sense of reality, and imagination. His main interest was agriculture, but he recognized that the distress of German farmers was due to deflation. More than once he had expressed himself in favor of an active economic policy along the lines recommended by the labor unions. He could contribute not only new arguments but also new ideas to the program. Tarnow was the heir apparent of Leipart in the ADGB, an intelligent self-educated union leader, independent in judgment and an excellent speaker. He did not contribute much more than his name to our work, however. We signed the document jointly—Woytinsky-Tarnow-Baade—and it became known as the WTB Plan—an amusing anagram, since the German official news agency, Wolff Telegraphen Bureau, signed its communications with the same three letters.

The Plan gained more and more popularity in the nation, but the S-D party remained adamant and refused to use the slogan of public works in the Reichstag election campaign in July, 1932. It preferred to stick to Brüning's guns—defense of the currency. The results of the election were catastrophic for the Republic. The Nazis gained more than one third of all the votes and 230 seats out of the Reichstag's 568. The new Reichstag had a clear anti-republican majority of Nazis and Communists and was unable to form a republican government. All parties began to brace themselves for a new appeal to the voters.

Leipart called me to his office. "The party," he told me, "has agreed to meet with us to discuss the plan of public works. There will be forty party representatives and as many from the labor unions. Will you prepare our case for the conference?"

I asked Gerhard Colm, a scholar of national reputation, not